



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

A NEW MANUSCRIPT OF CICERO'S *DE SENECTUTE*

BY GEORGE REEVES THROOP

Codex C is a MS in the library of Cornell University. Its catalogue number is MSS B3. It measures 193/10 by 143/10 cm., is bound in calf with gold tooling, and bears upon the back the title: M. T. CIC./PARADOX./DE SENECT./DE AMICIT./ It contains the coat-of-arms and motto of "Le comte D. Boutourlin," undoubtedly the well-known Russian historian, bibliophile, and librarian, Dimitri Boutourlin (17. .-1850), long director of the Imperial Library at Petersburg, whose fine collection of books and manuscripts was sold at auction in Paris in 1839-41. The following flyleaf note, "Vente Monmerqué/13 fr 50c/le 5 Juin 1851," shows that the MS had come into the possession of the eminent French antiquary and book-collector, Louis Jean Nicolas Monmerqué (1780-1860). The MS seems next to have become the property of the noted Parisian publisher, Ambrose Firmin Didot (1790-1876), as is evident from his bookmark. He doubtless purchased it at the Monmerqué sale in 1851, and probably owned it until his death in 1876. It was purchased in Paris, in 1886, by Professor G. L. Burr, for the President White Historical Library, now a part of the library of Cornell.

The MS is a palimpsest of which the under-writing has been removed by abrasion. This under-writing, which is slightly visible in many places, appears to be a cursive hand of probably the thirteenth century. It is undecipherable though almost legible in many places: e. g., on folios 88 *a*, 91 *b*, 107 *b*, 108 *a*, etc. The leaves are in many cases rubbed full of holes in an effort to remove the original writing. The writing itself is on vellum of a yellowish-white color, marred by a few worm-holes. The leaves are of moderate thickness, except several that have been scraped thin by the abrasion.

The MS consists of quaternions with catchword signatures at the bottom of the page. These catchwords are, as usual, the first

words of the text at the top of the opposite page. It contains 123 leaves, of which 25–26 and 74–75 are blanks, and are inserted by the binder between the essays. There are also four blank leaves at the front and the same number at the end of the MS. It is of one column, eighteen lines to a page, twenty-four to thirty letters to a line, with large margins. Ruled lines are drawn with a sharp point, apparently of lead.

The MS contains: (1) *PARADOXA*. Begins on fol. 1 *a*: *Animadvorti Brute/sepe Catonem*. Ends on fol. 24 *b*: *inopes et pauperes exti/mandi sunt. Amen.* (2) *CATO MAIOR*. Begins on fol. 27 *a*: *O TITE si quid ego adiuto/curamve*. Ends on fol. 73 *b*: *re experti pro/bare possitis. Amen:/Marci Tullii Ciceronis/ad Acticum de Senectute/Liber Explicit. Amen:/DEO GRATIAS.* (3) *LAELIUS*. Begins on fol. 76 *a*: *Quintus Mucius au/gur Scevola multa narrare*. Ends on fol. 123 *b*: *nichil amieitia pre/stabilius esse putetis. Amen.*

The initial letter in each essay is large ($1\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches), is colored in blue and red, and highly ornamented. This, however, is the only trace of the rubricator in the *De senectute*; in the latter, also, a different shade of blue and red was used from that employed in the *Paradoxa* and *De amicitia*. The latter two essays are rubricated throughout—interlocutors, proper names, chapter headings, etc. In the *De senectute* the names of the interlocutors are sometimes written in the text by the first hand; oftener a blank space is left, presumably for their insertion by the rubricator. This space is always supplied with the name written in very small script.

The MS has many glosses and variant readings by a later hand. In the same hand as the glosses are the following captions at the beginning of the three essays, respectively: *De paradossis*, *De senectute*, *De amicitia*. The punctuation is confined to two signs. One of these is the sign of interrogation; the other is the simple point, which is freely used by the writer for comma, semicolon, and period. The hand of the glosses has divided the sentences throughout by very fine upright lines which often can scarcely be discerned.

At the end of the *Paradoxa*, on fol. 24 *b*, is the following sub-

scription: *MCCCCIIIIo in dictione die XXIa mensis Junii expletus est hora XXa*. Also at the end of the *De senectute*, on fol. 73 b: *MCCCCIIIIo die (XXa) mensis Aprilis hora XVIII feliciter a me francisco expletus est liber iste*. There is no subscription at the end of the *De amicitia*. On the third paper flyleaf at the end of the book, a neat modern hand has written (1) *Le traité De Senectute a été écrit et terminé par Franciscus en 1404 le 20 Avril à la 18e heure*. (2) *Le même Franciscus a écrit et terminé le traité De Paradoxis le 21 Juin de la même année à la 20e heure*. (3) *Le traité De Amicitia est de la même main*. It is, of course, clear enough that this note has no worth as evidence, and that the subscriptions of the glossator are the source of its information. The statement in regard to the *De amicitia* was of course only surmised from the similarity of the writing of the *De amicitia* to that of the other essays. The French note was probably written by Boutourlin, as the flyleaf may be older than the present binding, which is, I suppose, that of Firmin Didot.

The Latin subscriptions are in the same hand and ink as the readings of the second hand, the glosses, and the captions mentioned above. This ink is of a very pale brown, even when heavily applied, as often occurs. It never approaches the deep black color of the ink in which the text is written, except on a few leaves, where by reason of age the writing has partly faded away. That this lighter shade is not due to the smaller size of the writing is shown by the captions and by a line inserted in the text by a later hand at the bottom of fol. 31 b: *dulcedine morum et affabilitate*. The writing, though heavier perhaps than that of the text, retains here its distinctive light-brown shade.

The writing of the text itself is extremely regular and legible, being apparently that of the Italian book-hand then prevalent. It shows none of the fifteenth-century degeneration which is so noticeable in the glosses and readings of the second hand. Abbreviations, which in that century are so plentiful and so difficult of decipherment, are here confined to a few words, and are exceedingly easy to understand. The letters are not compressed laterally, as is common in the latter part of the fourteenth and in

the fifteenth century. The regularity of the writing is certainly much beyond that usually found in MSS of that date. Nor does it partake in the least of the Renaissance style prevalent in the fifteenth century; the letters are too angular, and do not have the graceful rounded ends and slender upward strokes or tails.

Some specific points may be cited as illustrating the above statements. In the fourteenth century the letter *a*, made with the upper loop open in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, closes the top of the loop. This letter is found in our MS, apparently in different stages of development; the letter even occurs with the upper loop entirely open. The usual form is a letter made with the upper loop partly closed; then an extra stroke, very faint, and often not to be discerned except by close examination, is added to the lower part of the upper loop. This latter stroke usually just fails to touch the lower part of the letter. This change in the form of the letter *a*, which took place in the fourteenth century, seems therefore to be felt by the scribe as then going on.

In the glosses, etc., the letter *t* is made with the horizontal stroke at about the middle of the letter. This was the common style in 1404, the date of the glosses. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this letter was made with the horizontal stroke at the top of the perpendicular; then, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, the perpendicular stroke was slightly lowered. This change continued, until, in the fifteenth century, the letter was made with the horizontal stroke at about the center of the perpendicular, just as in the case of the glosses mentioned above. This letter is found in our MS with the cross-stroke ranging from the very top to a point upon the perpendicular distant perhaps one-fourth of its own length from the top.

The accenting of the letter *i* commenced in the twelfth century, and was in large measure replaced by dots in the fifteenth and even partly in the fourteenth century. No dots are found in our MS. Yet the letter *i* is accented when near *n*, *m*, *u*, *i*, and sometimes in other places, but the accent is also at times omitted even when *i* is near the letters mentioned.

Simple *e* is written for *ae* and *oe*, this had commenced as early

as the sixth century. The cedilla occurs once, however; *eternus*. This is rarely found in fifteenth-century MSS.

From these facts there seems to be no doubt that at least the scribe of the text and the scribe of the glosses were different persons. They seem also to warrant us in placing the date of the text at least fifty years, if not more, prior to the date given in the subscriptions. The omission of the word *liber* in the subscription to the *Paradoxa* might bear upon this. The use of the *iste* in the *De senectute* subscription instead of the usual *hic* may or may not be significant. The omission of a subscription to the *De amicitia* is also noteworthy. It would not be unnatural for a scribe to attach his name to a MS over which he had worked, if that MS were not already provided with a subscription.

While the evidence undoubtedly points to the conclusion that the MS was written as early as 1300–1350, yet owing to the fact that no parallel instances of such postdating of manuscripts can be cited, a more conservative criticism would probably hold to the date given in the text. However, the value of the MS is not materially affected, whether its date be 1300 or 1400.

The *De senectute* may be older than the other essays contained in our MS, as in it the ink seems to have worn off or faded away to a greater extent than in the *Paradoxa* and *De amicitia*. This, however, might be fully explained by its having been more read. The fact that the *De senectute* is not rubricated and that the initial letter is in different colors from those used in the other essays seems to indicate that it was written at a different time. But, as no further evidence can be adduced on this subject, the similarity of writing and of abbreviations in the three essays makes it reasonably certain that they are all by the same hand. Even if this is true, it by no means follows that the treatises were originally thus bound together.

I shall denote the MS by C, the first hand by C¹, the second hand by C². References by page and line are to C. F. W. Müller's edition of Cicero, Leipzig, 1879 (*Editio stereotypa*, 1898). His text is to be accepted without reserve for all readings which are not noted. Italics in the collation denote words deleted by the scribe but still readable.

The second hand, though later, as shown above, is of almost equal value with the first. It furnishes over three hundred variants, some of which preserve the correct reading against corruptions in the text, many furnish important variants found in other MSS, and many are found nowhere else. The same hand has also written many glosses, few of which, however, are of any importance. Yet in a few instances a gloss preserves the true reading against a corruption or omission in the text; e. g., p. 155. 28 *enim*; 159. 10 *eset*; 143. 24 *sunt*. From the variety of readings quoted by the second hand, it cannot be doubted that several MSS were used in correcting the text. The second hand quotes in several places two variants for one passage of the text; e. g., p. 132. 8 C¹ *adventantis*, C² *coadventantis* and *advenientis*; 155. 16 C¹ *mortis casus habet*, C² *casus mortis habet*, or *casus habet mortis*; etc. Variants are also sometimes added by the first hand; as, p. 134. 27 *nobilis*; 136. 18 *panathethicus*.

The orthography, if not exact, is at least consistent. The scribe seems to have followed a regular spelling in the case of many words which usually vary in the MSS. Thus, always: *quorsum*, *deinde*, *dii*, *nichil*, *mihi*, *unquam*, *tanquam*, *quotidie*, *quascunque*, etc., *quendam*, etc., *quicquam*, *littera*, *quatuor*, *repperio*, *autoritas*, *directus*, *valitudo*, *intelligo*, etc., *descriptio*, *vendicare*, *monimenta*, *lacrimis*, *libido*, *maximus* (and always *-imus* in superlative endings), *phylosophya*, etc., *-endum* always for *-undum* in gerunds and gerundives, *adolescens*, etc., *iocundus*, *conditione*, *spetie*, *spacio*, *ociosam*, *admistum*, *hi* and *his* for *ii* and *iis*, but the forms *ei* and *eis* are often employed; the assimilation of prepositions in compound words and like changes are regular, but exceptions occur, as: *affatur*, *afferre*, *appeti*, etc., *colligo*, *comparare*, etc., *expectatis*, *extractis*, etc., *illustrium*, *illudi*, *immissio*, *imbecillus*, etc., *opprimere*, *succumbebat*.

Praenomina are regularly written out, as: *Gaius* for *C.*, *Gneus* for *Cn.*, *Lucius* for *L.*, *Marcus* for *M.* and *M¹.*, *Publius* for *P.*, *Sextus* for *Sex.*, *Spurius* for *Sp.*, *Titus* for *T.* and *Ti.*, *Quintus* for *Q.*, and twice the initial alone is written and blanks are left for the insertion of the remainder: *P - - Crassus*: *T - - Pontii*.

Genitives from proper names in *-ius* of the second declension regularly have *-ii*, as: *Publii Licinii Crassi*, *Publii Decii*.

Proper names are often much confused or wrongly spelled, as in most MSS of the *De senectute*. We find on p. 136. 17 *Socratis* (*Isocratis*); 152. 21 *Senocrates* (*Socrates*); 146. 13 *Flaminei* (*Flaminini*); 146. 29 and 146. 35 *Coruncanum*; but 137. 16 and 141. 11 *Coruncanii*; *Affricanus* and *Affricani* in 141. 27 and 143. 27; but rightly in 160. 16, 17; *Fabritii* in 137. 16; also in 146. 24, 34: *Sannite* in 145. 37, and always. We also find *Lisander* in 152. 28, but *Lysander* elsewhere; *Olimpia* in 136. 30 and 142. 36; *Thermophilas* in 142. 22; *Symonidem* in 139. 24; etc.

Abbreviations are common, but neither varied nor difficult to understand. They are most numerous in case of the forms of the relative pronoun, of the enclitic *-que*, and of *-n* and *-m* in connection with the different vowels. Most of the abbreviations which occur are found many times and are consequently easy to interpret.

It is unfortunate that the MS, while being comparatively free from interpolation and especially free from omissions, abounds in transpositions. These are probably traceable, to some extent, to the scribe himself, as few are to be found in any other MS. They seem for the most part to represent an endeavor to arrive at a simpler Latin order; as, p. 139. 23 *liberatus est*; 142. 1 *puer memini*; 149. 21 *maior esse potest*; and in many places.

Interpolations are few in number and are mostly confined to supplying a logical word where it seemed to be omitted from the text. Most of these interpolations also have authority in other MSS and doubtless arose simultaneously in many, from attempts to improve or explain the text; e. g., p. 135. 17 *Ennius ait*; 135. 27 *toga fuit*; 136. 5 *littere erant in eo*; 137. 5 *avocet senes*; etc. One of greater length occurs after *requirere* on p. 143. 5: *nam cursus etatum nunquam retorquetur*. On p. 135. 4, after *comitate*, a later hand has added at the bottom of the page in a script which imitates the text: *dulcedine morum et affabilitate*. On p. 131. 3, is found the old interpolation: *et qua deprimeris*.

Omissions are extremely rare. The only one worthy of note occurs on p. 140. 16–17, where *alteri . . . odiosum* is omitted as a result of the preceding *odiosum*.

C¹ or C² often furnishes a good and frequently a correct text in the case of readings supported by no or by slight MS authority. Most of the readings which I here cite are commonly adopted by editors. A few are supported by one or more of the better MSS.

E. g.; p. 135. 9 C² *cumque eo*; 135. 20 C¹ *magisque magisque* (coni. Muretus); 135. 19 *enim*] C² *hic*; 136. 7 *ita cupide fruebar tunc*; 136. 18 *et*; 136. 29 *sicut*; 136. 32 C² *anno enim vigesimo*; 136. 35 C¹ *consulibus*; 136. 37 C² *suasi*; 137. 27 C² *decimo septimo anno*; 141. 23 C² *an ne has*; 142. 18 *possem*; 142. 37 *bovem unum utrum igitur*; 143. 18 *in senectute*; 143. 21 *quae*; 144. 19–20 *illa domo mos patrius et disc.*; 144. 35 C² *magno opere*; 145. 29 *posset*; 146. 6 *quorsum* (also on p. 136. 9); 146. 16 C² *exoratus*; 148. 25 *tamen*; 149. 4 *pseudolo*; 149. 12 C² *suade medullam*; 149. 32 *deinde* (also on p. 150. 20); 149. 35 *erecta*; 151. 31 *quam*; 153. 6 C¹ *studio teneamur*; 154. 25 C¹ *morum*; 155. 13 C¹ *est tam*; 155. 22 *quid (quod?) est istud* (coni. Wesenberg); 155. 37 C¹ *vixit*; 156. 7 *cuique*; 156. 10 C¹ *sapienti*; 158. 3 C¹ *saepe profectas*; 158. 8 C¹ *rerum*; 158. 16 C¹ *equidem non enim*; 159. 2 *Apollinis oraculo*; 159. 31 *tum*; 159. 27 C¹ *diutius*; 160. 2 *discedit*; 160. 25 *multo melius* (restored by Bennett from Erfurtensis); 161. 8 C¹ *habeat*.

A study of these readings will show conclusively that C is descended from an excellent source, and one free from many corruptions found even in the oldest MSS. A number of its corruptions, as I said above, seem to be due to its own scribe, though a few are manifestly of an older date; as, p. 131. 2 *versatur pectore*; 134. 27 *non nobilis*; 142. 15 *sex Nestoris*.

On p. 134. 27, C has *non nobilis*, the *non* being in *rasura*. On the margin, by C¹ is *ignobilis alias non nobilis*; the *non* in this case being superscribed by C². The MS doubtless read originally *ignobilis*, with a variant *nobilis* by the same hand. The reading *nobilis* is adopted by early editors, as, P. Baldvinus, Manutius, Graevius, and others; it is said to be taken *ex antiquis codd.*; but none of the MSS now used for the text of the *De senectute* seems to have this variant. *nobilis* was added, I think, by a scribe who wished a word after *Seriphius*, in order to make the sentence correspond to *Atheniensis clarus* in the following line. *nobilis* was then misunderstood as going with *Seriphius*, and was consequently changed to *ignobilis* in most of the MSS. Or, what is less likely, *nobilis* may be the original reading, which, after being changed to *ignobilis* in the MSS, was entirely omitted from the

text of a few as being evidently a gloss on *Seriphius*. *nobilis*, however, may have arisen from an attempt to improve an earlier *ignobilis*.

On p. 136. 37, C¹ reads *suasissem*, C² *suasi*. This latter reading, so generally adopted from Forchhammer's conjecture, is preserved in no other MS. The word is superscribed above *suasissem* by C² and is itself quite legible; but the sign *alias*, used for denoting readings of C², is here indistinct and might perhaps be taken for an abbreviation of *vel*, a sign which is also used by the glossator. I have found infrequently in other places readings of C² quoted under the sign for *vel*.

On p. 155. 24, only P² A² H² have the correct reading *tu in*; all others having the easy corruption *tum*. C² also preserves here the correct reading. The words are clearly written and plainly divided; by no possibility could they be taken for *tum*.

The citation of a few readings will show that C, notwithstanding its lateness, is not dependent for its text upon any MS or group of MSS. Of the better MSS, L P H A V, its readings agree with those of P and H rather than L and A, and V rather than either; and it sometimes agrees with the latter in preference to a majority of all the MSS. The comparative agreements of C with L A, PH, and V, might accurately be expressed by the increasing ratio 5:6:7; as,

- p. 146. 21 CPH *tam* vs. LAV om. *tam*
- p. 147. 15 CPH *crebro* vs. LAV *credo*
- p. 159. 3 CPH *mihi persuasi* vs. LAV *persuasi mihi*
- p. 147. 2 CPHV *quorsum* vs. LA *quorsus*
- p. 149. 10 CPHV *atqui* vs. LA *atque*
- p. 143. 35 CPHV *morbum* vs. LA *morborum*
- p. 150. 9 CPHV *nonne ea* vs. LA *nonne*
- p. 151. 8 CLA *natura* vs. PHV om, *natura*
- p. 137. 37 CLA *multa* vs. PHV *multo* (or om.)
- p. 148. 14 CLAV *libenter vero* vs. PH *ego vero*
- p. 156. 19 CLAV *ante partorum* vs. PH *peractorum*
- p. 150. 3 CLAV *requiem* vs. PH *requietem*

These instances exemplify the agreements of C with these MSS arranged by classes. In reference to the individual MSS, C agrees

with V, H, P, A, L, in the following descending ratio, 7:6:5:5:4; it will also at times agree with one of them against the other four; as,

- p. 131. 1 CV *adiuto* vs. LAPH *adiuvero*
- p. 145. 29 CV *posset* vs. LAPH *possit*
- p. 156. 10 CV *sapienti* vs. LAPH *sapientibus*
- p. 157. 26 CV *eo* vs. LAPH *hoc* (*et*, etc.)
- p. 157. 27 CV *quis* vs. LAPH *qui*
- p. 158. 9 CV *certa studia* vs. LAPH *studia certa*
- p. 159. 5 CH *sententiae* vs. LAPV *scientiae*
- p. 151. 10 CH *triumphasset* vs. LAPV *triumphavisset*
- p. 143. 21 CH *quae* vs. LAPV *quando* or *quoniam*
- p. 133. 14 CH *consolatione* vs. LAPV *consolatio*
- p. 132. 5 CH *mihi visum est* vs. LAPV *m. e. v. or v. e. m.*
- p. 149. 32 CP *deinde* vs. LAVH *dein*
- p. 135. 23 CP *fugerat* vs. LAVH *fuerat*
- p. 148. 11 CA *nec* vs. LVPH *ne*
- p. 147. 32 CA *pauci iam* vs. LVPH *pauci*
- p. 133. 6 CA *adepti* vs. LVPH *adeptam*
- p. 160. 25 CL *quietatem* vs. AVPH *quietam*
- p. 136. 13 CL *navalesque* vs. AVPH *navalesve*

C agrees with H² in a few very important readings; in some of these they constitute the chief authority for the text. C agrees with H², in preference to H¹, in at least four-fifths of the places where readings of H² are cited. As, p. 137. 13 *seniles*; 142. 9 *vivebat*; 144. 22 *nemini mancipata*; 149. 35 *erecta*; 143. 6 *parti* (*parci*); 145. 34 *tamque pestiferum*; 154. 25 *morum*; 153. 11 *maiores nostri*; 155. 13 *est tam*; 136. 7 *fruebar tunc*; but C agrees with H¹ instead of H² on p. 144. 34 *omnibus* (*in*) *his*, vs. H² *in his*; also on p. 159. 5 C¹H¹ *sententiae*, vs. C²H² *scientiae*.

In relation to the the reading *nemini mancipata* found on p. 144. 22, I will here mention that a late fifteenth-century MS, designated as K, and contained in the Cornell University library, has the following important reading: *nemini emancipata*. The same MS has also on p. 155. 22 the equally important reading: *quod est istud*. These readings, however, may be emendations of the scribe.

In a few important readings C¹ or C² agrees with ERI or one or more of them in preference to a majority of the other MSS.

- p. 141. 23 C²E²RI *an ne has* vs. C¹ MSS *annales*
p. 142. 37 CERI *bovum vivum (unum C) utrum igitur* vs. MSS vary
p. 144. 19 CER *illa domo mos patrius et disc.* vs. MSS corrupt
p. 146. 8 CER *habendam* (om. *esse*) vs. MSS *h. e. or e. h.*
p. 153. 2 CERI *recte* vs. MSS *rite*
p. 158. 8 C¹ERI² *rerum* vs. C²T¹ MSS *studiorum*

Yet we find that C never consistently agrees with any one of these, and at times radically disagrees from them all; as,

- p. 133. 12 C¹ *quam si* vs. C²ERI *quam*
p. 141. 31 C *ipsa ista* vs. ER *ista ipsa*
p. 145. 36 C (I) *longior* vs. ER *longinquior*
p. 150. 3 C *requiem* vs. ER *requietem*
p. 154. 36 C *sed* vs. ERI *et*
p. 155. 37 C *vixit* vs. ERI *vixerit*

C¹ or C² often furnishes readings which would be plausible enough if supported by other MS authority. As worthy of notice, I would cite:

p. 133. 23 *vetustum*; 133. 33 C² *hoc futurum est*; 134. 35 C² *efferent*; 136. 4 C *quae scientia iuris et augurandi*; 137. 6 C² *infirmum*; 137. 11 C² *ab his*; 138. 31 C¹ *florescentis*; 139. 14 C¹ *qui propter*; 140. 2 *serunt*; 143. 15 C¹ *opertus*; 150. 1 *ego] ergo*; 150. 5 *tantillo*; 151. 7 *rerum rusticarum*; 153. 24 *aut iam etiam de*; 154. 26 *at tamen haec morositas*; 155. 35 *scriptum est* (om. *video*); 156. 10 C¹ *vivendum*; 156. 12 C¹ *proccesseris*; 158. 28 C¹ *terram*; 160. 3 C¹ *tam mortis*.

A complete collation of the MS. follows:

p. 131. 1 C¹ *adiuto*, C² *adiuvero*. C¹ *levasso*, C² *levavero*—2 *versatur pectore*—3 *et qua deprimeris etquid erit pretii*—4 *michi hic*. C¹ *iisdem*, C² *eisdem*—7 C¹ *certe*, C² *certo*—9 C¹ *moderationem*, C² *modum rationem*—.

p. 132. 1 *non cog. sol.*—2 *te] om.*—3 *te quibus*—5 *michi visum est*—7 *commune michi*—8 *etiam] om.* C¹ *adventantis*, C² *coadventantis* and *advenientis*—9 C¹ *immodice*, C² *modice*—10 *sicuti. certe*—11 *cum michi*—14 *abstulerit vel absterserit*—16 *d. s. l.*—18 *degere possit*—20 *de senectute ad te*—21 C¹ *Aristarcus*, C² *Aristillus*—22 *Marcho*—26 *consequerit*—27 *attribuito*—29 C¹ *boni enim*, C² *iam enim*—32 *cum] tum*—35 *ethna*—37 *Scipio et Leli difficilem*.

p. 133. 3 *a se ipsis*—4 *potest malum*—6 *sed eandem omnes*. C¹ *adepti*, C² *adeptam*—8 *putassent*—9 C¹ *cur*, C² *qui*—11 *esset gravis*—12 *quam si*—14 *consolatione*. C¹ *posset*, C² *potest*—16 *vestroque*—22 *aliquid esse*—23 C¹ *fructibus*, C² *frugibus*. *victum vel vetustum*—25 *enim est. modo] more*—29 *et volumus. certe] recte*—33 *gratum hoc*. C¹ *sit*, C² *est*—35 *aliquam longam. vel conficias quam*.

p. 134. 1 vero ut—2 veteri—3 C¹ quas, C² que (quae)—4 quae] itemque—10 evenirent omnia—12 se laborum et lib., iam lax.—14 omnium quoque—17 C² inequalitas—27 non nobilis, or ignobilis alias non nobilis (on margin). C² hercle—28 essem non nobilis nec tu si Atheniensis esses.—30 non levis—31 ne] nec—32 enim sunt omnino—35 C¹ efferunt, C² efferent—36 homines nec in.

p. 135. 1 C¹ benefactorum, C² beneficiorum—8 fuerat primum. C¹ cum quo ego quarto, C² cumque eo, C² cumque ego—11 deinde edilis. sum pretor—13 et suasor. cinthie—15 C² plene. Hanibalem—16 C² iuvenem—17 Ennius ait—18 unus qui nobis—19 C¹ non enim, C² non hic—20 C² magisque magisque—21 receperat—23 fugerat—25 C¹ arri-dens, C² ridens—27 toga fuit—28 C² resistit—29 Picenum—30 augur enim *q* cum (enim outside of line)—34 nichil est—35 Marci filij—36 est] C² cum.

p. 136. 2 civium] hominum. magnus fuit—4 C¹ que (quae) scia iuris et augurandi, C² iuris augurii—5 littere erant in eo. omnia enim—7 fruebar tunc, C² tamen—10 C² videtur—12 ut] aut—13 expugnatores. C¹ navalesque, C² -ve—14 ut] C² et—15 C¹ atque, C² ac. C¹ eleganter, C² eliganter. C¹ levis, C² lenis—16 et (also in 18)—17 mortuus est. Socratis—18 C¹ panatheniacus (C¹ in marg. panathethicus)—19 se dicitur—20 Leontius—21 neque] C² nec—22 ex eo] C² ex quo—23 esse vellet—24 quo—27 fecimus—29 sicut. sepe] C² forte—30 Olimpia—31 et equi (C² equidem) et victoris *equi* (C² cuius) senectuti—32 C¹ annum enim *unde* vigesimum, C² anno enim vigesimo—34 Accilius—35 C¹ consulibus, C² consule—37 C¹ suasissem annos, C² suasi.

p. 137. 1 C¹ videntur, C² putantur—3 C¹ delectare, C² delectari—5 advocet senes—6 C¹ infirmum—7 fere privet omnibus—8 C¹ harum, C² earum—9 et quamque—12 C¹ an eis, C² ab his. in iuven.—13 seniles—14 administrantur. nichil ne—15 Scipio socer—18 Appii Claudii. accedam qui—19 sentetia—21 illa] C² ea. prosecutus—24 dementi sese flexere. C¹ ruina, C² via—26 C¹ hoc, C² hec (haec). egit] C² agit—27 C¹ septemdecim annos, C² decimo septimo anno—30 fuisse sane—33 C¹ his qui, C² ut si qui. agere nichil—36 pupi—37 C¹ multa, C² multo. C² velocitatibus.

p. 138. 5 bellorum] C² laborum—6 C² rescribo—7 C¹ sunt, C² sint. Cartagini—8 bellum inferant—12 trigesimus—14 censore.—15 cum consul—16 ad centesimum si annum—18 cominus—19 et sententia—23 gerunt] C² tenent. C² appellantur—24 externas—25 sust.] subst.—26 C¹ repperietis, C² repperies and invenietis—28 percunctantur ut est Nevii poete (-ae) posteriori libro—29 C¹ sed, C² et—30 C¹ proveniebant vel proventabant, C² pveniebant—31 C² scilicet. C¹ florescentis, C² florentis. C² senectutis

p. 139. 1 in etate—2 novi eos—3 sunt etiam sed—6 C¹ senum, C² quenque senem or quenquam senem—7 omnia] C² si autem—8 qui sibi—

12 neque] C² nec. sedetiam—14 C¹ qui propter, C² propter quod—20 Edippum—22 C¹ a desipiente factum, C² desipientis—23 hunc] om.—24 Hesiodum. Symonidem. Tersicorem—25 Socratem. Gorgiam—26 Pictagoram—27 C¹ Xenocratem, C² Yxocratem. Cleantem—29 Stoycum. in] C² a. obmutiscere—30 in his omnibus—32 C² vocare—35 C² frugibus—33 his aliis hoc sit minus mirum—37 in annum.

p. 140. 1 C¹ his, C² eis. C¹ nichil, C² nil. C¹ sciunt, C² sciant—2 serunt—3 synephebis—7 prodesse—8 qui illud Ennii idem est—9 nichil—10 apportas. C² satis—11 diu quis. vult—12 vult *non conspicit*. quidem que—13 vult—14 viciosius dixit—16 se ea etate *eum* esse—22 me hic vobis qui michi—23 C² videte—26 quid quod. quid] C² qui(?)—31 C¹ expellere, C² explere—34 in fidibus. in divinis litteris.

p. 141. 1 num plusquam—2 vires tauri. elephantis—4 contemptior esse—8 num vero. tuiipse. nugator] C² migrator—9 nobilitatus es—10 Sextus Emilius—17 in senectute—19 *persepe* ipsa—20 C¹ disertam, C² diserti. compta—23 C¹ annales quidem viros senectute relinquimus, C² an ne has quidem vires senectutis relinquemus—24 C² adolescentulos—25 instituant instruant—26 et] om.—27 Africanus—31 ipsa ista. et si—34 in eo sermone.

p. 142. 1 puer memini—4 etatis viribus. relinqueret—7 videtis ne—5 meipso—9 iam enim tertiam. vivebat—10 nimius—12 ad quam. C² profluebat—14 Ayacis—15 C¹ sex. Nestoris, C² at quinque. sibi si—16 troya—18 possem—22 C¹ militaris, C² plebis or C² militum. Thermophilas.—23 Marco Accilio Glabrione consulibus, C² consule—24 non] C² nec—26 nec] C² neque—27 C¹ manet, C² monet—28 velis] C² velit—30 convenire (om. me) valuit, C² voluit—31 quin (or qum) fuerim—32 uterque vis. nec—35 ne ille quidem (om. non.). ne] C² non.—36 Olimpie pedes per—37 bovem unum utrum igitur. sust.] subst.

p. 143. 2 utere—3 C¹ abest non, C² absit ne—5 cursus unus—6 parti. aetatis] om.—7 est post data ut enim infr. (om. et.)—10 C² recipi—11 habitus Massinissa—12 natus] C² nactus—13 inequo—14 C¹ ascendere, C² descendere. imbre—15 C¹ opertus, C² operto. C¹ corporis siccitatem, C² sinceritatem—18 in senectute—19 non sunt—21 quae. non] om.—22 sust.] subst.—23 ad hoc q. n. p. quidem sed nec.—24 C¹ officium, C² officii. C¹ ita imbecilles (om. sunt but in gloss), C² imbecilli.—27 Affricani—30 C¹ valentior, C² uberior—34 C¹ cuiusque, C² eiusque. C¹ compescenda, C² compensanda—35 pugnandum que est tanquam (C² sicut) contra morbum sic (C² si)—36 habenda est.

p. 144. 1 vero] C² tamen—4 extinguuntur—5 de fatigatione—6 se exercendo—7 comicus. hos.—9 ignavie somniculoseque—13 omnium sed stultorum—14 et quinque—18 eum serui—20 mos patrius—21 se ipsam—22 C¹ nemini mancipata, C² menti—23 probo in (om. probo in 25)—26 sed animo—29 quam maxime. augurum et pontificum—31 Pictagoreo

rumque—33 haec] he (hae)—34 omnibus in his—35 C¹ magnopere, C² magno opere.

p. 145. 1 C¹ quas, C² quae. nequirem] C² non possem—6 dubito—8 equitur etiam—9 dic. carere—10 C¹ illud aufert a, C² id—12 Archite—14 nullam esse—20 nasci dicebat—22 strupra—23 voluptatibus—25 C¹ atque, C² ac—26 esse tam—29 posset—30 aliquem aliquando—33 quo circa—34 tamque pestiferum—36 longior.—37 Sannite.

p. 146. 1 C¹ seperati, C² superati. Titus Victorius—2 Architam. Nearcus—6 Ap. Claudio] Publio Camillo Claudio. quorsum—3 romani populi—6 quorsum—7 C¹ haec, C² hoc. C¹ intelligatis, C² intelligeretis—8 C¹ intelligentia, C² prudentia. esse] om.—9 C¹ effecerit, C² efficeret—11 ac mentis. perstringit—12 comertium—13 Flaminei fratrem consulem—16 C¹ exhortatus, C² exoratus—17 C¹ illorum, C² eorum—18 rei sententia—20 neutiquam *quam*. . prob. pot.] C² procrastinari poterant—23 a maioribus—25 quod] qui—26 a Thessalo civi audisset esse—29 Coruncanum—33 qui se (om. qui in 32)—35 Coruncanus. cum] tum. tunc] tunc.—36 Publii Decii.

p. 147. 2 quorsum.—6 C¹ vinolentia, C² violentia—7 *insomniis*—11 pisces hamo. careat—13 Marci filium—14 sepe senem—15 cereo] crebro—16 illi gloria—17 iam primum—19 sunt constitute sed sacris y deis matris magne, C² magne matris—20 igitur] enim—21 erat tunc. qua] C² quo—22 C¹ mitiora, C² minora. enim] om.—23 ipsius volup. quam] C² potius—25 C¹ accubitationem, C² accubationem (cf. *De. off. i.* 35. 128).—26 nominaverunt convivium—27 C¹ tunc, C² tum (so C¹ and C² in 38)—29 C¹ eodem, C² eo—32 pauci iam—33 -que] C² quoque—34 C¹ ausit potus et cibi, C² potiones et cibos—36 videar indixisse bellum. est] om. (and add in 37, modus est).

p. 148. 1 voluptatibus ipsis. senectutem sensu.—4 C¹ summo magisterio, C² summo magistro. C¹ siphosio, C² siproio—5 C¹ refrigerantia, C² refrigeratio—7 C² prosequi—9 C¹ producimus vario sermone, C² vario sermone producimus—10 This line given to Laelius—11 ne] nec—13 C¹ ab, C² ex. quidam iam quidem affecto, C² confecto—14 C¹ veneris, C² veneris. dii. libenter vero—15 C¹ a, C² ab. C¹ aut furioso, C² ac curioso—16 C¹ vero, C² enim—18 C² is caret qui—25 etiam tamen—26 C¹ delectatur, C² letatur. propter] prope—27 eas] C² ea. in tantum—28 quae animum delectant—29 contentionum—31 aliquid—32 C¹ officioso, C² ociosa—33 videbamus] C² vidimus—34 C¹ et, C² atque. C.] om.—37 incepisset.

p. 149. 1 predicere nobis—3 suo bello punico—4 pseudolo—5 sum natus—6 C¹ Centurio Tuditatinoque, C² Centhenos, C² tuditano—8 pontificis—10 atque] atqui—11 senes] C² studiis—12 C¹ suadet, C² suade medullam—13 C² videbam—16 doctrine sunt. atque] atqui—18 C¹ est, C² sit—19 quodam ait—21 maior esse potest—23 C¹ non, C² nec—27 cum maiore, C² maiori—29 ipsa natura—30 C¹ accipit, C² excipit—31 id hoc

occatum—32 deinde—34 enixa—35 erecta—36 e quibus cum emerserit—37 C¹ spice, C² spici. C¹ structam, C² structo.

p. 150. 1 C¹ morsum, C² morsus. ego] ergo—3 C¹ requiem, C² requietem—5 tantillo—6 C¹ acino vinaceo. C² acina vinacio—8 C¹ ramos ac truncos, C² truncos ramosque. plante vites propagines sarmenta radices non ne ea—12 om. eadem but in gloss—16 ineunte itaque—18 sese—20 gustatu acerba—21 tempore—22 cum] tum—24 ipsa cultura et ipsanatura—25 aminiculorum—26 iugatio] coniugatio—27 quam] C² que (quae)—28 C¹ fossiones, C² fossationes.—29 terra multo—32 Exiodus. ne] nec—34 seculis fuit ante. Laertem—35 eum before agrum—37 sed etiam ortis.

p. 151. 1 C¹ pomeriis, C² pomariis. et apium—4 prosequi—5 oblectamina. C¹ ea ipsa, C² hec (haec)—6 C¹ ignoscite—7 et studio] a studio. rerum rusticarum—8 natura.—9 C¹ videar vindicare, C² vindicare videar, C² videar excusare—10 triumphasset—14 C¹ temporis, C² temporum—15 C² pondus auri—17 C¹ his, C² eis—18 non efficere senectutem iocundam—20 tunc—21 quinto—23 Hala. Aulus, a gloss—24 Emilium—25 accersebatur (so accersebant in 26)—27 C¹ non igitur eorum, C² num igitur horum—28 C² delectabant—29 an ulla vita possit esse beator hac neque enim solum officio delector quod—31 quam dixi. C² salubris—32 C¹ et copia, C² copiaque—33 C¹ ut quoniam hec quidam eorum desiderant, C² ut hec quidem quoniam quidam—37 enim porco.

p. 152. 2 supervacanei—4 aut de—5 C¹ brevi predicam, C² precidam, C² breviter libabo—7 spetie—8 C¹ delectat, C² oblectat—9 C¹ aut, C² eque. vel] C² aut—10 C¹ aut igni, C² vel igni—11 sibi ergo habeant. ergo] C² igitur—12 C¹ sibi pilam, C² et pilam—14 C¹ atque thesseras, C² et thesaras. C¹ libebit, C² licebit. utrum—15 C¹ potest esse senectus, C² esse potest—17 C¹ sciatis, C² faciatis—19 C¹ ethonomicus, C² equonomicus—21 Senocrates. cribotolo in gloss, erythobolo in text—22 Cyrum regem persarum minorem—23 ingenio virum—26 communem—27 et consit.—28 Lisander—30 C¹ suavitates, C² suavitatem—31 a floribus—33 atque] et. illa] C² ista—36 istarum] illarum.

p. 153. 1 persarum—2 gemmis fulgentem. rite vero] recte vero. (gl. certe)—3 ferunt] C² dicunt—4 C¹ licet frui, C² frui licet. C¹ non, C² nec—6 C¹ studio teneamur, C² studia teneamus—8 C¹ vitam produxisse, C² perduxisse—10 C¹ quadraginta et sex, C² sex et triginta—11 itaque. maiores nostri—12 cursus illi—13 etas extrema huius—14 media erat—16 C¹ Accilio Calvino, C² Calatino (om. A.)—17 elogium unicum—18 et populi—19 notum est totum carmen—20 C¹ est, C² esset—22 quem] C² que—23 de Scipione Affricano—24 ante] etiam—26 C² honerata—29 C¹ meam senect., C² eam me senect.—30 institua sit. id efficitur—34 capit] C² accipit.

p. 154. 1 C¹ bene morate sunt, C² obtime morata est.—3 C¹ cuius mentionem feci, C² cuius modo feci mentionem. aiunt dic.—5 C² in tantum—7 C¹ traditum, C² proditum—8 C¹ theatris, C² theatrum. C¹

consensu, C² consessu—9 ei nusquam—10 accessit—13 C¹ datus esset multiplex, C² esset multiplex datus—15 nolle facere. C¹ nostro, C² vestro—17 C² primatum. C² nec—20 C² corporum—23 C¹ istriones, C² istoriones. C² corruisse in extremo actu—25 C¹ queruntur, C² querimus. C¹ morum, C² morbi—26 at tamen hec morositas—27 C¹ ullius, C² illius—28 C¹ iuste videtur, C² posse videatur—30 C¹ omnia tamen, C² tam—31 cum] tum. fiunt] C² fuerint (?)—32 invita—33 duritas—34 res sese—35 natura. C² coaccessit—36 sed. C¹ aliam, C² alia—37 avaritia] C² avarus.

p. 155. 2 minus vie (viae) restat—5 etatem videtur habere—6 non longe potest abesse—7 C¹ qui in t. l. et. cont. vitam esse non viderit, C² qui mortem cont. esse in t. l. et. non viderit, etc.—10 C¹ ducit eum, C² eum deducit. fructus eternus—11 esse certe inveniri nichil—13 C¹ est tam, C² quamquam quis etiam stultus quamvis sit adolescens, C¹ adolescens sit—15 esse. illa etas.—16 C¹ mortis casus habet, C² casus mortis habet, C² casus habet mortis—18 perpauci—19 nisi accideret—20 enim et ratio—22 quid est istud—24 tum inopt. C¹ tum inexp. C² tu in—25 ad. O scipio—26 communem esse—28 enim] est and enim in gloss—29 habere] om.—30 C¹ nec quid sperat quod habet, C² quod speret quidem. C¹ et . . . meliori, C² at . . . meliore—31 quod id] cum id. conditione—32 vixit diu—33 in vita hominis—34 supremum. Tarsiorum—35 video] est—36 Archan. . Gadibus] grandis. regnavit—37 C¹ vixit centum viginti, C² cxx vixerit. ne] nec.

p. 156. 1 C¹ sed michi quidem nec diuturnum quicquam, C² quicquid. (gloss, sed michi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam).—2 extremum est—4 C¹ benefactis recte, C² recte facis—5 C¹ unquam, C² usquam—7 cuique—8 C¹ placet, C² placeat—9 est fabula—10 C¹ sapienti usque in finem plaudite vivendum est, C² veniendum, C² sapientibus usque ad plaudite veniendum—12 C¹ processeris, C² processerit—14 auctumnumque—15 enim] C² etiam—16 C¹ vero, C² autem—17 C¹ de metendis, C² metendis, C² metiendis. C² accomoda—18 autem] C² enim—23 itaque sic (om. sic in 24)—25 senes autem cum sua sponte sic nulla adhibita vi ut cons.—28 si cruda sunt vi avelluntur. C¹ cocta, C² coacta—29 sic vis ad. vitam aufert—35 C¹ possis et tamen mortem contemnere, C² possit (gloss, quoad possis).—37 Pysistrato tiranno.

p. 157. 1 C¹ spe, C² re—2 C¹ resisteret, C² obsisteret. resp. dic. sen.] respondit senectute—3 finis est. vivendi] C² vite—5 coaugmentavit. ut aed.] aut ed.—6 C¹ destruxit, C² destruit. facillime—7 hominem] C² hominum—11 Pythagoras. C¹ sine iussu, C² iniussu—13 C² recedere. elogium est—14 mortem suam—15 esse carum se—17 C¹ nec, C² neque—20 consequitur. si aliquis—25 nemo esse. est certe. et id inc.—26 an eo ipso die. ab omnibus—27 qui] quis—28 videtur esse opus—29 C¹ recorder non tantum, C² recorder. est] om.—30 C¹ interemptus, C² interfectus—31 Attilium—34 corporibus suis] C² vi corporis sui—35 C¹ prelio, C² ignominia.

p. 158. 1 C¹ nec, C² ne—2 passus est carere. quod] quas—3 C¹ sepe, C² esse—4 C¹ erecto, C² recto. unde nunquam se red.—5 C¹ quod, C² quid. C¹ hi qui, C² hi quidem—7 C¹ extimescunt, C² extimescent. quidem ut michi—8 C¹ rerum, C² studiorum—9 certa studia—10 sunt et—12 eius] huius. ne] num—13 sunt autem—14 *occidunt* etiam—16 mortis affert maturum. equidem non *enim*—17 quid] quod—18 melius cernere michi—19 tu Publi Scipio tuque Gai Leli—24 C¹ altissimo, C² aptissimo—26 C¹ scilicet in locum, C² locum (om. scilicet in).—28 C¹ terram, C² terras—30 C¹ non, C² nec—31 sed etiam. ita in gloss—33 Pictag. et Pictag.—34 qui cum. nominati quondam—37 die vite (vitae).

p. 159. 1 C² disseruit (?)—2 apollinis oraculo—3 michi persuasi—5 C¹ providentia, C² prudentia. C¹ sententie, C² scientie—7 animus agitur—8 ipse se. ne] nec—9 sit] C² esset—10 esset] om. (but in gloss)—11 admistum. C¹ disparque suique diss., -que] C² atque—12 C¹ posset, C² possit—14 C¹ pluraque, C² pleraque. C¹ qui, C² quod—16 arripere] accipere—17 fere sunt—19 dixit. karissimi—21 nec] neque—22 videbatis meum—25 C² videbatis—27 C¹ eorum, C² illorum. C¹ diutius, C² iustius—29 persuaderi nunquam—30 C¹ exissent, C² excessissent—31 tum—33 admistione—36 et cet.—37 discedant.

p. 160. 2 discedit—3 C¹ tam mortis, C² morti tam—7 C¹ sunt, C² sint—8 C¹ cum plane se vinculis corporis *relaxaverint*, C² *laxaverint*, C² cum se plane corporum vinculis *relaxaverint*—9 C¹ colite, C² colitote—10 C¹ interitus est, C² interiturus—12 C¹ pulcritudinem omnem, omnem] C² communem—14 Cyrrus vero hec quidem—16 Paulum et Affricanum (bis).—17 C¹ *et* multos, C² multo—20 ipsos] posse—21 an ne. meipso—23 isdem] iisdem—25 C¹ quietatem, C² quietam. multo melius—26 sine ullo labore et contemnere traducere, C² contentione (?)—28 C² de vita—29 et nisi ita—31 C¹ immortalitatis gloriam, C² immortalem—33 et quisque stultissimus. is] C² his—34 C¹ cernit, C² cernat—35 C¹ cuius, C² cui—37 C¹ vivendi, C² vivendo. vero] enim.

p. 161. 1 habebo. etiam illos. C¹ unde, C² de quibus—2 C¹ *con-*scripsi, C² *conscripsi*—4 C¹ neque tanquam pilam retorsit, C² nec retorserit. quis] C² qui—5 C¹ ex hac vite etate repueriscam tenera, C² repetam—7 enim vita habet—8 C¹ sane habeat, C² habet sane—10 C¹ licet, C² libet—11 C¹ indocti, C² docti—13 C¹ et ex vita hac ita, etc., C² et ex vita hac ex hospitio discedo non tanquam domo—14 e] om. (ex in gl.). diversorium—15 nobis dedit non habitandi *dedit*—16 ad illud. C² divinatorum humanorum—17 C¹ cum ex hac turba et colluvione, C² turbe colluvione—18 solum ad eos—21 C² accrematum—22 eius me non—23 ipsi] ipse—27 C¹ igitur, C² michi—32 dilector—33 C¹ morior totus, C² mortuus—34 C¹ ut hunc, C² ne hunc.

p. 162. 1 sic et—2 defatigationem—3 C¹ societate, C² sacietate